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THE INVASION OF EGYPT

The pot boils over in the Middle East

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

NEWS OF ISRAEL'S invasion of Egypt last week—described as "too big for a reprisal and too small for a war"—created a furore at the UN. As the GUARDIAN went to press the latest report was that Britain and France had threatened to land troops at strategic points to "guarantee free passage" through the Suez Canal.

The news broke Oct. 29, just as the UN Security Council was discussing a French complaint against Egyptian aid to the Algerian nationalists. The Council adjourned indefinitely. Later, at U. S. request, it decided to hold an emergency session the next morning on the Israel-Egypt conflict.

Israel earlier had announced the biggest mobilization of Army reserves since the 1948 Palestine war, to stiffen its 600-mile armistice line bordering on Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. The mobilization was decreed after Jordan, Syria and Egypt signed a military pact placing their combined forces under Egyptian command in the event of war with Israel. The pact was signed after the Oct. 21 elections for the Jordanian Parliament, which resulted in a victory for the pro-Nasser group determined to sever all ties with Britain.

WASHINGTON WARNING: Learning of the Israeli mobilization, President Eisenhower sent a strong warning to Premier Ben-Gurion against taking any "forceful initiative" in the Middle East. Israel

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SOCIALIST UPHEAVAL

Why did Hungary explode?

THE LIBERALIZING FORCES let loose at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last February exploded in Hungary last week with a violence that made the events of the preceding week in Poland seem pale by comparison.

Trouble over wretched economic conditions and the suffocation of intellectual freedom had been brewing in Hungary for some time. Within the Hungarian CP there had been a struggle for power between the inflexible Matyas Rakosi and Imre Nagy, who advocated less emphasis on industrialization and more attention to the needs of the people. In 1955 Rakosi forced Nagy out; last summer he was himself ousted and replaced by Erno Gero.

But Gero had been Rakosi's right-hand man and his acceptance of the new principles enunciated in Moscow and his visit to Marshal Tito in Belgrade were not enough to invite public confidence. Demands for his ouster and the restoration of Nagy increased and reached a climax as Hungarians learned of the dramatic events in Poland. Police firing on mass demonstrations in Budapest on Oct. 23 precipitated wild rioting. The attempt of Soviet occupation troops to quell the rioting inflamed the whole country.

A CLEARER PICTURE: For several days the Western press was filled with stories of brutal suppression of demonstrators by Soviet troops, as Budapest cut off all communications with the West and clamped a tight censorship on the press. As radio communications were restored and Western correspondents cabled dis-

(Continued on Page 9)

SWEATSHOP DAYS ARE THRU
IT'S 40 HRS. FOR T.W.U.
ON STRIKE
LOCAL 100 - TWU - CIO

ON ELECTION EVE THESE WERE FOUR OF THE ISSUES STILL UNRESOLVED

Will the weapons we hoard blow us to bits? Will the machines we make toss us out of our jobs? Will our children walk together—or even ride in the same bus?

Will the farmer survive his own abundance? Four years from now will we still be asking questions and hearing no answers?

PRESIDENTIAL SWEEPSTAKES

How the race looked on election eve

ON ELECTION EVE the likeliest predictions were that close to half of the U. S. electorate would stay away from the polls; that President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson would each get at least 25,000,000 votes, leaving the determining choice to some 10,000,000 voters likely to split their tickets, write in their own candidates or otherwise behave unpredictably.

The nation's pulse takers were just about unanimous in predicting a second term for Eisenhower, but many expected the nation to pick a Democratic Congress. The betting odds ran 4-1 for the President. Stevenson supporters clung fondly to the memories of 1948 when the pollsters lost to Harry Truman.

THE FIGURES: In the campaign's final week Stevenson's chances looked like this: He was certain to carry eight of the nine states he carried in 1952: Arkansas (8 electoral votes), Louisiana (10), Mississippi (8), Alabama (11), Georgia (12), S. Carolina (8), N. Carolina (14), and W. Virginia (8). Kentucky (10) went to Stevenson last time but this year was in the doubtful column because of Gov. Albert (Happy) Chandler who was sitting on his hands and reportedly praying for a Democratic defeat to punish his opponents in the state machine. To make up for Kentucky, Stevenson had extended his base a bit though still keeping it southern. He looked good in Texas (24), Tennessee (11), Missouri (13), and Oklahoma (8). Rhode Island (4) was the northern state thought sure for Stevenson. Adlai could thus bank on 139 electoral votes, a little more than half the required 266.

President Eisenhower was thought safe in New York (45), New Hampshire (4), Vermont (3), Maine (5), Colorado (6), Delaware (3), Idaho (4), Wyoming (3), Indiana (13), Kansas (8), Nebraska (6), New Jersey (16), N. Dakota (4), S. Dakota (4), Utah (4), Wisconsin (12), Ohio (25), Connecticut (8), Iowa (10), Massachusetts (16), Maryland (9), Montana (4), Oregon (6), Nevada (3). That gave Eisenhower 221 votes, just 45 short of the Presidency-elect.

In the doubtful column were: Florida (10), which went to Eisenhower last time and this year was reportedly torn between the new Florida lately settled by Northerners and the old Dixie state; California (32), where the decisive battle of this election was to be fought out and where no one had even offered a knowledgable guess as to the outcome; Pennsylvania (32), where Eisenhower's strength was stacked against spotty unemployment and rough times on the farms; Minnesota

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Vol. 9, No. 3 401 November 5, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

'Black Reconstruction'

WE ANNOUNCE WITH DELIGHT that Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' monumental work, **Black Reconstruction in America**—originally published more than 20 years ago and a collector's item today—is being reissued in a handsome, new 750-page edition by S. A. Russell Co.; and the first copies will be offered exclusively to GUARDIAN readers at a special pre-publication price of $5.50, autographed by Dr. DuBois, in time for the holiday gift season.

Quite a mouthful, that sentence, but so is **Black Reconstruction!** When it first appeared, the **Survey Graphic** called it "the impassioned outburst of a sensitive scholar's long brooding over the miswritten and unwritten history of a people and a period. This book will be read with profound resentment by many who have been reared on the conventional histories . . . The long-ignored documents of official record set into this flowing text will demand a new accounting." The **N. Y. Times** called it "beyond question the most painstaking and thorough study ever made" of the Reconstruction period and the factors involved in it.

At the conclusion of some 725 pages setting the record straight on the era 1860-1880, Dr. DuBois wrote:

". . . I stand at the end of this writing, literally aghast at what American historians have done to this field . . .

"We shall never have a science of history until we have in our colleges men who regard the truth as more important than the defense of the white race, and who will not deliberately encourage students to gather thesis material in order to support a prejudice or buttress a lie."

Your orders for **Black Reconstruction** are welcome now, with delivery promised in mid-December. Between now and then, we shall try to give you some samplings of the relentless truth-telling of this book, giving the lie to almost all the standard historians of the period and rendering a true account of what Dr. DuBois has called "the finest effort to achieve democracy for the working millions which this world has ever seen."

•

OUR HOLIDAY CARDS are apparently a smash hit, judging from the flurry of advance orders resulting from the sample we mailed to all subscribers last month—most of them multiple orders, by the way. We suggest early ordering of all you need—our supply is limited. So get out your holiday list now and start counting who you want to favor with the best in greetings. And while you're at it, why not see if there aren't a couple of people on your list who ought to receive Dr. DuBois' mighty **Black Reconstruction**, for themselves, their children and their children's children.

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. Autographed!

THE MAIL BAG

The wonderers

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Grimly stumbling hour by hour
Thru the smoggy streets, they wonder
Why this mighty state has power
For armaments and atom thunder
And none for human dignity . . .

Edwin Weighman

The real boss

CHICAGO, ILL.

Neither Democrats or Republicans offer opposition to the masters in the Pentagon. A last-minute, vote-garnering "end nuclear tests" appeal cannot efface the meaning of the loyalty of its advocates, in a showdown, to the "more military funds" rubber-stampers. The only opposition to such practices can be found in the principled platforms of other parties offering presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Such parties include: American Vegetarian Party: Herbert M. Shelton, Symon Gould; Greenback Party: Fred C. Proehl, Edward K. Meador; Prohibition Party: Enoch A. Holtwick, Edwin M. Cooper; Socialist Party: Darlington Hoopes, Samuel H. Friedman; Socialist Labor Party: Eric Haas, Georgia Cozzini; Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs, Myra Tanner Weiss.

Albert Bofman

Day of reckoning

ROCHESTER, N.Y.

The total American electorate of presidential 1956 is confronted by the bewildering challenge of a historic new era of global compass and momentousness. How shall revolution-cradled U.S.A. vitally accommodate itself to a world in full travail of new revolutionary crisis? The vital task of any American government at present is to make a foreign policy that will deliberately do away with the cold war to produce peace in the world.

For the cold war must be renounced along with the fallacious idea of winning it behind sustained military threat: the "to-stay-free-we-must-stay-strong" guile. Peace and disarmament are imperative to end the bankruptcy, waste and corrosion inherent in the false-front prosperity of war economy. Adlai Stevenson must be given distinctive credit for an exposition of political campaigning integrity and enlightenment not before equalled in American politics.

No more justified and damning indictment of the state of American polity could be made than his statement:

"America no longer speaks and flames and gives off new ideas and initiatives.

"Our lights are dimmed—while in Carlisle's phrase, 'death and eternity sits glaring.'"

This goes deep into concern of spiritual judgment. Indeed, prophetic voices in the process of this campaign have been raised in warning of accelerating materialistic conditions of decadence in America having a parallel in the fate of the Roman Empire, and with reminder of a dismaying accrual of mortal sin in the spiritual realm that points to a reckoning of the Great Day of Armageddon.

In what seems to sum up the general import of Stevenson's campaign philosophy he has marked the Republican policy as "comfortable complacency toward things as they are and a suffocating satisfaction with our material well-being, making conformity virtuous and improvement suspect."

"It seems to me," he continues, "we have been afraid—looking under beds at home and building barbed-wire fences abroad—and we have nearly lost our souls in the process."

J. B.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In Paris, when a girl does not know love by the time she is 20, it means one of three things—she is not pretty, she has led a sheltered life or she is a Communist."

—Francoise Sagan, 21-year-old French novelist, quoted in **Look**, Oct. 30.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip (with date) of each entry. Winner this week Betty Jacobs, San Francisco.

Dwindling choice

CYNWOOD, PA.

The very impossibility of choice excites choosing. The two old parties? Why, one might as well go down to the Museum of Natural History and vote for the dinosaurs. The parties professing socialism? Well, they are certainly fearless, afraid of nothing except of a mass movement.

Still, my choice must lie in this group. It can't be the party that used to flirt with National Socialism, and besides I don't believe there is anybody named Darlington Hoopes. Mr. Hallinan's choice I have considered, but the ghost of my old downgraded father will not let me make it. That leaves Mr. Eric Haas, of the SLP, arm and hammer, whom I heard on TV giving an admirable digest of basic Marxism without once aspersing any existing socialist state. This is a feat not even communists can manage.

I want to agree with somebody, and so cannot vote Trotskyite. I want socialism, and so cannot vote Socialist. I want to vote, and so shall vote for Mr. Haas.

Barrows Dunham

Think hard

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I guess maybe my views could be best described as coinciding most often with Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt. This will undoubtedly brand me as a "wishy-washy" liberal with many, and if I add that I am a Catholic in the bargain, I may as well drop dead as far as many of your readers are concerned. But believe me, I am not secretly advocating the downfall of the "progressive left."

Stay home if you think Stevenson and Kefauver don't honestly offer more intellectually, and as leaders, than the likelihood of Richard Nixon becoming head of the ship of state. Think long and hard, and dump the chips off your shoulders. For my money, Mr. Baldwin gave good advice.

Mrs. G. L. H.

All in one

BELHAVEN, N.C.

As I cast my vote for Stevenson and Kefauver in the approaching election, I urge all splinter socialist groups to unite into an effective socialist movement, and if this happens, I shall certainly join and support the United Socialist Party.

Vernon Ward

Tit Bits, London

Other work to do

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Excerpts of a reply to the Hallinan-McAvoy appeal for support for Farrell Dobbs:

I shall never be happy till there is a labor party in the United States; a labor party which if not committed to socialism in the beginning will be forced by the logic of history to develop in that direction. I have come to the conclusion, however, and much against my will, that until organized labor itself takes some steps (as it did in 1924) to create that party it cannot be created.

But if we are temporarily in a period when fruitful political action is not open to us, other work is crying out to be done. There is unlimited need for socialist education, and only if such a foundation is laid will there be a strong socialist movement in the future. I should like to see all the forces of the left unite in a great movement of education for socialism.

Florence H. Luscomb

Bring it back

RICHMOND, CALIF.

This is a great country. Every four years we can decide whether we shall be run by Wall Street or Dixie.

Yours for the Restoration of the Republic.

J. N. McCullough

Can't afford it

SPRING HILL, KANS.

As a farmer I am concerned with this stay-at-home idea that has taken possession of the minds of many progressive thinkers within the last few months. This is strictly a defeatist position. All small farmers who face ruin caused by high costs and low market prices know this. The blueprint of the Cornell gang headed by Ezra Taft Benson and backed by the Republican Party calls for the moving out of more than 3,000,000 small farmers.

Review the record of this Republican Party the past four years, then you should know that we as workers and producers of these United States cannot afford to give this gang of picaroons the encouragement of another long four years.

Otis W. Johnson

With open eyes

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Halting of H-bomb tests seems to be sincerely advocated by Stevenson; who can conceive Nixon doing so? Let us vote for Stevenson, not "subscribing uncritically" but with eyes open.

E. W.

Devil or witch?

PAROWAN, UTAH

Socially conscious people of the nation, now millions strong, know that voting the two old private enterprise parties to power amounts to "swapping the devil for a witch," yet at the same time they should realize that should they fail to vote for the Democratic Party we will then have four more years of military dictatorship and "brink of war hysteria," with Dulles, McCarthy and Nixon.

Olive Carroll

For sure

BALTIMORE, MD.

If the choice between capitalist parties has changed any since Eugene Debs' day, it has lessened. Let's face it—we have no choice with them. We have, as Debs said, only a choice between the freedom which we might not get or the slavery which we shall surely get.

A. Robert Kaufman

Too risky

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

We can't sit this one out, thereby increasing our isolation from the people. Vote for Stevenson—don't risk Nixon in the White House.

Carl Jefferson

Fall in

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Republicans like to bawl out
Those who talk of fallout.

Thurman U. Claire

ADVICE FROM A SAGE:

Reform the U. S. Senate or lose your democracy

By **W. E. B. Du Bois**

MOST AMERICANS ATTEND to their political duties in November of a Presidential election year and then take a four years' rest. This is stupid. Eternal vigilance and not quadrennial is the price of the liberties we are losing. For that reason I am venturing to recall your attention from the current fierce shadow-boxing of Adlai and Ike to something of real importance, and that is the United States Senate; I am saying that either we reform the Senate, its manner of election, its basis of representation, and its character, or democratic government will be increasingly impossible in this nation.

I LIKE STEVEN-HOWER

Naturally you never have heard such a suggestion, and you never will if the Senate remains in the control of those who now own it; and if its owners also control the Press.

One of the great compromises which made the adoption of our present Constitution possible was giving each state equal representation in the Senate. This was undemocratic and we knew it. But the discrepancy in state population in 1787 was not large (from 60,000 to 300,000) and was expected to decrease. The Thirteen Colonies also had real cultural differences in religion, social organization, and economic activities, which could not be ignored; moreover, it was a federation of states that we were forming, and not a tightly unified nation.

SOME CHANGES MADE: Today the situation is far different. We have had since the Civil War an increasingly unified federal state with few state cultural differences. Yet a frightful inequality of popular representation has arisen, which makes any dream of democratic processes at present absurd.

Today there are 20 states which cast less than 500,000 votes to elect a Senator, while five states cast over a million votes each. For further understanding, let us study the members of the U.S. Senate on that day in May, 1953, when the matter of giving away tidelands oil was voted on. Let us take 12 Senators and compare the number of voters who took part in the elections at which they were chosen, adding a column to show how many votes other states have if the voters of New York have one:

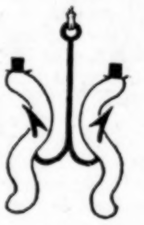
IVES, R., N. Y., elected with 6,980,259 votes, 1952	1 vote
DUFF, R., Pa., elected with 3,548,642 votes, 1950	2 votes
SALTONSTALL, R., Mass., elected with 2,042,873 votes, 1948	3 votes
HICKENLOOPER, R., Ia., elected with 858,523 votes, 1950	8 votes
RUSSELL, D., Ga., elected with 362,104 votes, 1948	19 votes
ELLENDER, D., La., elected with 330,115 votes, 1948	20 votes
GEORGE, D., Ga., elected with 261,290 votes, 1950	26 votes
MUNDT, R., S. D., elected with 242,833 votes, 1948	29 votes
BRIDGES, R., N. H., elected with 221,360 votes, 1948	31 votes
EASTLAND, D., Miss., elected with 151,478 votes, 1949	46 votes
McCARRAN, D., Nev., elected with 61,762 votes, 1950	114 votes
JOHNSON, D., S. C., elected with 50,458 votes, 1950	139 votes

THE TRAVESTY: If the nearly 7,000,000 voters who voted in the Ives election have the power of casting one vote in the Senate, then the 3,500,000 who voted in the Duff election had twice as much power as the New Yorkers; the 950,000 persons who took part in the election which chose Hickenlooper exercised eight times the power of New Yorkers.

Georgia voters have in the Senate 19 times the power of New York voters and ten times the power of Pennsylvania voters; Louisiana voters outrank New Yorkers 20 times; South Dakota voters 29 times, Mississippi voters 46 times, and the Democrats of South Carolina 139 times!

There are many other ways of illustrating this extraordinary travesty on democratic government: consider McCarran of the well-known state where gambling is legal, divorce easy, and many other questionable practices permitted; it needed only 60,000 voters to send this man to the Senate where he fathered some of the worst legislation of our era; while Saltonstall of Massachusetts needed 2,000,000 votes for less than equal power. Picture Georgia and Illinois: the nearly 4,000,000 voters who sent Douglas to the Senate did not have near the political power of the 260,000 voters who sent George of Georgia, to dominate our foreign affairs.

CORPORATION CONTROL: But more than that: the Senate outranks the House not only in Constitutional powers, but it is so organized as to make democratic control unlikely if not impossible. First, the Senators rank on committees not by ability or choice but by their length of service; this puts a premium on state disfranchisement of voters, on cheating and violence, and invites the control of the Senate by outside interests; for the chairmen of the Senate committees are not honorary officials, but powerful men who exercise decisive control of legislation. Imagine Eastland of Mississippi deciding when and if the Senate will consider civil rights!



If a corporation wishes Senatorial favors, it has but to influence 50,000 voters in South Carolina to overcome 3,500,000 in Ohio. It costs a Senator three times his salary to secure election (why this is needed I have not time to say) and corporations kindly contribute to this cost; yet when recently a Western Senator unaware of "Senatorial courtesy" blurted out receipt of such a "gift," it was suggested that graft and bribery among Senators be investigated and that a young Senator from Tennessee take the job. There was a bit of a flurry. Bridges of New Hampshire, who needs only 200,000 voters to elect him, and who is a smooth politician, took charge; the press was conveniently silent. Have you heard anything since? You won't, not if Bridges has his way. Neither is it possible for the citizen to know what corporate stocks Senators own and how they got them. Of course not; this is "private enterprise."

THE PITY: What is to be done? Democratic government must be made at least a possibility in this nation, and unless the basis of representation of states in the Senate is changed, this is forever impossible.

There's no reason on God's earth why a voter in South Dakota should have in the U.S. Senate 14 times the power of a voter in Pennsylvania, and if there is a citizen of the United States who cannot see that this makes democracy in this nation a farce, he is a fool.

But some may say, the Senate does not represent people; it sure doesn't. It represents corporations. The great corporations own the states; some completely, some partially, all to a large degree. Few are the Senators whom corporations do not claim to own, and who by singular chance do what the corporations want done.

What has all this to do with November 6? Not a damn thing, and more's the pity!

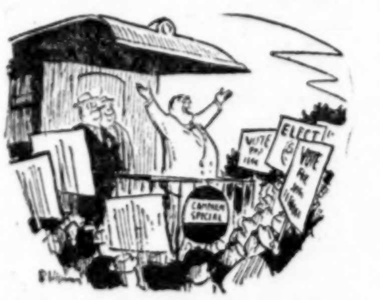
The election story

(Continued from Page 1)

(11), where falling prices helped the Democrats; Illinois (27), where Republican graft in the cities and apathy on the farm was giving Stevenson a slim hope; Virginia (12), possibly for Stevenson if local Democrats were not sitting it out; New Mexico (4) and Arizona (4), where drought relief on election eve which, if enough, could tip the scales to Eisenhower; Washington (9), Kentucky (10); Michigan (20), where the United Auto Workers had waged an ofensive for Stevenson, but where Eisenhower still ran strong in the polls. Stevenson's best hope was that he might ride in on the coat-tails of the apparently popular Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams. The states in doubt totaled 171 votes.

FINNEGAN FALTERS: As the campaign closed, the President was riding a dreamy kind of popularity which seemed to compensate for the lack of enthusiasm stirred by his party. If elected, it seemed it would be due more to Democrats for Eisenhower than to his own party. Stevenson on the other hand showed every sign of running behind his party. He had his admirers who saw in him a vast intellectual improvement over recent Presidents, but in the last days of the campaign even his manager James A. Finnegan seemed to falter. **Newsweek** (10/29) quoted him: "I can't change my guy and I don't know anyone that can . . . You know, some men have it in them to be great Presidents, or great senators or great governors—if you could only get them appointed to office."

The campaign had played to a quiet house. Stevenson caught the audience briefly by reference to the H-bomb, but he made of it no stirring anti-war call to compete with Eisenhower's claim to have established peace. The civil rights issue lay smoldering beneath the surface, ignored or buried in generalities by both candidates. Neither at any moment in the campaign promised unequivocally to enforce with his full authority the desegregation issue of the Supreme Court. The results would show up in the Negro wards of the country where some expected the shift from the Democrats, tarred with the heaviest jimcrow guilt, to be as much as 30%. It would also be seen in the stay-home vote in those areas. Some observers belittled the possibility of a shift, arguing that fear of a depression and the existence of well organized political machines in Negro areas would hold the line for the Democrats.



Wall Street Journal

"**. . . a chicken in every ROTISSERIE!**"

THE LABOR VOTE: Organized labor had thrown its biggest forces into the fight for the Democrats with top level endorsements and election district organization of doorbell ringers. The effect was far from certain. The vote in Detroit and Flint would reveal how the rank-and-file follows its leadership politically. Up to the final week, polls still showed Eisenhower scoring close to 50% of the trade union vote and more than that among unorganized labor. Some labor leaders sat on their hands throughout the campaign and a few came out for Eisenhower.

Whatever the results, labor's activity did not succeed in making any of labor's demands a campaign issue. Taft-Hartley was scarcely mentioned and no candidate came up with an answer to automation.

The Senate seemed likely to be Democratic again, raising the possibility that the worst fears of liberals would be realized: Richard Nixon waiting in the White House wings and Mississippi Sen. Eastland still bottling civil rights bills as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. A Democratic Senate was probable because 11 of the 18 Democratic seats up for election are in Democratic strongholds: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, the Carolinas and Oklahoma. The Republicans have 17 seats at stake, but only three are sure to stay Republican: in Vermont, New Hampshire and Kansas.

TAYLOR A WRITE-IN: Four Senate contests seemed more than horse races. There were real issues at stake and a real choice in California where Richard Richards (D), a civil rights champion, was battling Sen. Thomas Kuchel of the Knowland wing of the Republicans; Oregon where Sen. Wayne Morse (D) was leading in his fight against former Secy. of the Interior Douglas McKay; Pennsylvania where reformer Joseph Clark (D) was running against Sen. James H. Duff (R). In Idaho Glen Taylor, Henry Wallace's running mate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948, was waging a write-in campaign. He charged that the Democratic nomination was stolen from him by Frank Church, a candidate whose record and convictions come close to matching those of the far-right Republican standard bearer, Sen. Herman Welker.

Eric Haas, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Labor Party, wrote the last crisp comment on one of the least stirring of U. S. campaigns. He spoke at a rally in a Montana town, attended by nine people of whom five were members of the SLP. A reporter asked him to comment on the small turnout. Said Haas: "After all, we're a workers' party and the workers are at work."

N. Y. write-in

IN NEW YORK the only parties on the ballot are the Republican, Democratic and Liberal. Those who wish to vote for other candidates by means of a write-in must follow this procedure:

Above the office concerned you will find a slot. It wil be a large rectangular one over the Presidency. Push back the slot, holding it back with one hand while with the other you write in the names of your candidates for President and Vice-President. Be careful to spell the names correctly. The slots over the other offices are smaller and slant upward toward the right.

Once you have raised the slot for a write-in vote you cannot change your mind and vote by voting lever for a candidate for the same office.

A GIRL FROM WYOMING HELPS

British Labour's blood is up over housing crisis

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THIS IS A STORY about the fight for decent, fairly-priced workers' housing as seen in the London borough of St. Pancras, and about the indestructibility of good American progressive stock as represented by a girl from Wyoming.

That Britain's deepening housing crisis is to be the big domestic Labour-Tory battleground was already indicated at the Labour Party's annual conference. Labour showed its alarm at the tortoise pace of new building due to the "credit squeeze" and withdrawal of subsidies, in a slum-littered Britain that needs some 7,000,000 new dwellings. Then came the Tory conference which—after howling down lone delegates who opposed Eden's Suez "policy" and capital punishment—heard plans to decontrol rents of more than 6,000,000 existing houses.

WAR IN ST. PANCRAS: On the national policy level the struggle between the two concepts of housing—as a source of profit to landlords or a service to which citizens are entitled—will develop sharply when Parliament re-convenes later this month. On the level of local Councils, which face the day-to-day job of putting roofs over the people's heads, the battle is already hot, and Labour Councillors show much more clarity on the issues than does the party's Parliamentary leadership. In most places where the need is greatest, the Councils have a Labour majority whose hands are more and more tied by Tory national policy. Such a place is St. Pancras, London, in whose Town Hall council chamber I observed the war in progress last week.

St. Pancras is a predominantly socialist borough noted in the past for its slums but with a colorful, fighting history. Its famous Councillors have included Bernard Shaw and Krishna Menon, who as libraries committee chairman instituted many cultural projects now flourishing in the borough. Today, looking down from the gallery as the scarlet-robed Labour mayor conducts the proceedings, one finds a third of the Council seats occupied by Tories.

In the back row of Labour Councillors, solid in their determination to win a fair housing deal for the St. Pancrasites who elected them last May, sits the girl from Wyoming beside her Welsh husband, trade union organizer and Councillor Clive Jenkins.

THE WYOMING GIRL: The story of how she got there has no connection with the housing crisis except that, if Tory callousness and blood-sucking are to be beaten, it will take people of the indomitable stamp of Jean and Clive Jenkins to do it.

Jean Butler (as she was back in the U.S.) is one of the many progressives of our day whom governments have tried to reduce to despair and impotence as displaced persons and cold-war political targets. Having come to Britain in 1949 to do graduate studies in music and anthropology, and in 1953 taken a job as assistant museum curator for the London County Council, she was caught in the alien deportation net two years ago. When the Home Office ordered her to leave Britain, an MP inquiring on her behalf was told it was "not for the good of the country that she be permitted to remain."

While she fought the order together with the tough Welshman who had asked her to marry him, a cop was assigned to follow her everywhere and four men in two cars kept vigil outside her house. Callers on the telephone either couldn't get through or were connected with police headquarters. Her employer, the L.C.C., stood by her, and in further replies to influential friends it became clear that it was the U.S. witch-hunt which was behind the deportation order.

THE AWFUL TRUTH: A Tory MP was told she was "terribly dangerous because she used to sing subversive songs to American trade unionists." (She still sings "Talkin' Union" and other trans-Atlantic favorites now—with uproarious success—to British trade unionists.) The awful truth was out: she had once been a member of the Almanac Singers, and had also been an organizer for progressive U.S. unions.

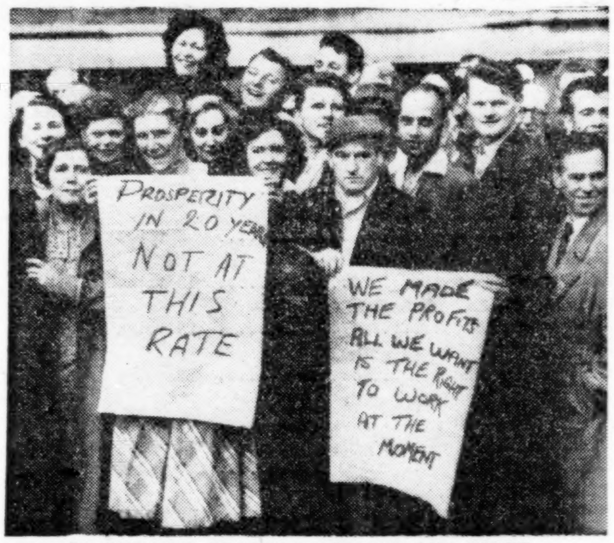
In December, 1954, she had to leave and went to Copenhagen, where she and Clive were married. There she applied for British citizenship—a process, however, taking ten weeks to complete, while her U.S. passport expired in three. She could not be prevented from becoming British, but even after that, she was told, the deportation order could not be withdrawn. Nevertheless the fight was carried on so relentlessly, and the publicity given the case was so devastating, that by March she was back in London, a full-fledged British citizen.

No sooner was she back—and back in her old job—than she flung herself into the British progressive fight as ardently as she formerly participated in the American struggle. She and her husband, who seemed destined by fate to make a team, entered the race for the St. Pancras Council and were both elected by big majorities over their Tory rivals.

BURSTING STORM: So there they were, last week, in the thick of the Labour Councillors' battle for more and better housing, and continued low rents, for St. Pancras—a borough that has been doing as fine a housing job as any in Britain. Councillor Jenkins said it was not surprising that nothing had been done about the housing crisis by a government which could pour out millions of pounds for military adventures all over the world. An outraged Tory, seeing ruin ahead if rents were not raised, drawled that he "hoped we have heard the last of such political diatribes"; but it was only the overture. The storm burst when another Tory asked sarcastically if they were "to understand that these people [St. Pancras workers] are of such mentality that they can't pay" $7 weekly rents out of $30 wages.

The Labourites flashed back with a firm spelling-out of their policy: to "take housing out of the realm of private profit and make it a public service." As long as the government reduced housing subsidies they would keep workers' rents down, by putting up the rates and so equalizing the burden. When the votes were taken on a series of reactionary or confusing motions by the Tories, the Labour Councillors trooped solidly into the "No" lobby to swamp them.

The fight is on, here and in hundreds of other British boroughs where Labour's blood is up. And the Almanac Singers' loss is decidedly St. Pancras' gain.


PROSPERITY IN 20 YEARS NOT AT THIS RATE
WE MADE THE PROFITS ALL WE WANT IS THE RIGHT TO WORK AT THE MOMENT

IN LONDON BRITONS ARE ON THE MOVE
A recent march on Commons to present grievances

IN NEW YORK THERE IS LESS MOTION
School kids in a Harlem slum study by kerosene lamp

'REBUILD OUR CITIES FOR EVERYBODY'

Conference discusses methods to end jimcrow in U.S. housing

PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING to understand the ill effects of racial segregation not only on those who are jimcrowed but on all the citizens. That theme dominated an all-day conference held in New York last month by the Natl. Committee Against Discrimination in Housing under the slogan "Rebuilding Our Cities for Everybody." Several speakers among the 26 national and 25 New York State organizations referred to this passage in Eli Ginzberg's **The Negro Potential**:

"Only when Negro and white families can live together as neighbors, when Negro children and white children can play together, study together, go to the same church—only then will the Negro grow up properly prepared for his place in the world of work."

The following views were developed in panel discussions:

GAINS: Whether motivated by ideals or dollars, the number of private open-occupancy housing developments around the country is growing, potentially the largest being the 1,500-homes Sunnyhills, sponsored by the United Auto Workers in Milpitas, Cal. Most publicized is Concord Park, 139 moderately priced homes in suburban Philadelphia. It is now almost completely sold on a 55-45% white-Negro controlled-occupancy basis.

Efforts are under way to overcome lenders' "fear and uncertainty" regarding ability of the "minority market"—chiefly Negro and Puerto Rican—to meet their obligations. Lenders are being encouraged to treat Negro and Puerto Rican borrowers "as separate individuals", as they do white clients, instead of lumping them according to race or nationality.

Keynote speaker Frank S. Horne, on "Desegregation—The Housing Challenge in an Election Year," cited New York as an example of Northern cities where, in spite of anti-discrimination laws, "we find a great number of schools which are either all-white or all-Negro and [in New York] Puerto Rican." He said:

"The United States government through its far-flung housing operations continues to buttress and reinforce discrimination and segregation. Urban redevelopment and urban renewal programs continue to sanction 'Negro clearance.' Under the guise of 'urban renewal', cities are permitted to thwart integration in public schools by wiping out areas of minority residency . . . The evils inherent in this pattern are coming to light in the ill-conceived Congressional hearing on school desegregation in Washington . . . The social evils revealed are end-products of discrimination. They flow inevitably from ghetto life with its denial of participation in community cultural activities."

Dr. Horne summed up:

- The separate-but-equal concept must be rejected in housing as in public schools.
- Special financing "or other gimmicks" aimed at producing "Negro" housing must be rejected with demands that "the total housing market" be opened to free competitive bargaining of all citizens.
- Publicly-aided housing must be barred from "slum ghettos" despite the "crocodile tears" for "poor little children" whose real hope lies in a truly open-housing market.
- So-called race relations services in Federal housing agencies must be abolished, unless they work to achieve an open-housing market.

NEW YORK'S TASK: State Rent Administrator Robert C. Weaver said that although New York leads the country in anti-jimcrow publicly-aided housing laws, N.Y. State action is essential to bring about open housing for all. Observing that Title I developments "are also covered by non-discrimination legislation," he said a constant problem was to get "qualified and interested colored applicants" for projects outside established Negro residential areas.

Commissioner Weaver said:

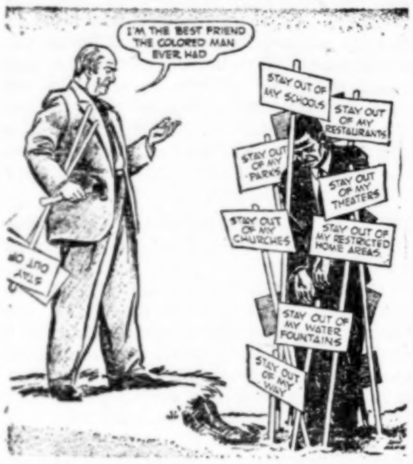
- Income rather than race "seems to be the principal impediment" to Negroes' participating in most N.Y.C. Title I projects. However, fear of being rejected also plays a part.
- New York must solve these public-housing problems: (1) Select the sites, the tenants and the managements in such a way as to insure white-Negro integration of each project. (2) See to it that the 1956 (or "second") Metcalf-Baker law barring racial discrimination or segregation in publicly-aided housing is enforced. (3) Encourage non-whites to apply for homes in all new projects. (4) Develop fair housing legislation to embrace a larger segment of the over-all housing market than is now covered by anti-discrimination laws.

DIVINELY GUIDED JUDGE

21 Negroes fined $500 each for not riding Tallahassee buses

By Eugene Gordon

CITY JUDGE John Rudd of Tallahassee, Fla., last week bowed over the bench—old tables set end to end on a platform—and prayed silently. Then he tilted in his straight-legged kitchen chair until the back of his sleekly-brushed head touched the grease spot on the large map of the city. He said: "I have never called for divine guidance so much and so often as in this case. I hope each of you will be Christian enough to abide by the law." Thus divinely guided, Judge Rudd gave each of the 21 Negro men before him a 60-day suspended jail sentence and fined each $500.


I'M THE BEST FRIEND THE COLORED MAN EVER HAD
STAY OUT OF MY SCHOOLS
STAY OUT OF MY RESTAURANTS
STAY OUT OF MY PARKS
STAY OUT OF MY THEATERS
STAY OUT OF MY CHURCHES
STAY OUT OF MY RESTRICTED HOME AREAS
STAY OUT OF MY WATER FOUNTAINS
STAY OUT OF MY WAY
STAY OUT OF

Memphis World

The defendants were leaders of the Inter-Civic Council organized last Spring to conduct a stay-off-the-buses campaign. Students of the state Negro university started the movement following arrest of two coeds for sitting beside a white woman on a crowded Cities Transit, Inc., bus.

THE CRIME: Support by Tallahassee's 15,000 Negroes of the ICC three-point demand—1) courtesy on the part of drivers, 2) first-come, first-served seating, 3) Negro drivers for predominately Negro routes—was solid enough last summer to force the company into temporary bankruptcy. Former bus users continued walking when the company resumed operations at the end of one month. They slogged through sheets of rain and muddy streets past empty buses after last week's verdict.

The convicted men—including local NAACP president Rev. C. K. Steele—were accused of operating "an illegal transportation system." The ICC admittedly had a pool of 63 cars and two station wagons last June. The prosecution sought to prove that the ICC collected fares for transporting walkers to various destinations without a city permit or a state "for-hire" license.

JIMCROW COURT: The defense maintained:

- That the ICC was engaged in a protest against jimcrow bus riding and was not a business enterprise;
- That cars were provided "on a voluntary basis" and involved no renumeration, directly or indirectly;
- That to thwart this protest in any way would be to deprive the defendants of their constitutional right of freedom of speech.
- That the car pool was incidental to the protest movement.

The jimcrow-bus pattern of vacant "white" seats while "Negro" seats are crowded was similarly followed in the courtroom. Negroes jammed the straight-backed wooden benches, the wall aisle and the window sills in the right half of the room; were barred from the practically empty left half. Court attendants complained: "We ain't got enough room in here" for all the Negro spectators.

STILL WALKING: Judge Rudd asked the convicted men to abide by his decision "like good citizens and Christians" while they awaited the result of their appeal. The ICC announced shortly afterwards that it had abandoned the car pool and added: "The war is not over. We're still walking."

African Methodist Episcopal Bishop D. Ward Nichols, formerly of New York but with headquarters now in Florida, was a one-day spectator. He said: "It is a witch-hunt and a waste of the taxpayer's money. The city of Tallahassee plainly has no case and should withdraw its charges in the interest of what our government stands for."

Meanwhile, in Montgomery, enemies of the protest movement there have taken to phoning and writing threats to white employers who drive their domestics to and from work. The movement there will be one year old on Dec. 5.

This is YOUR PICKET LINE DON'T CROSS IT!
FARMERS - PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES
Support Our Fight for a Fair Grape Price
JOIN THE FARMERS UNION!

HUDSON VALLEY GRAPE GROWERS IN ACTION

Faced with $65-a-ton offers for their grapes (as against $110 in 1953, $70 last year), Ulster Co. Farmers Union picketed Hudson Valley Pure Foods plant at Highland, N. Y., withheld crops despite threat of frost. With cooperation from teamsters and the local Chamber of Commerce they forced the price up to $75, called off the picketing when neighboring buyers began offering $80-$85. Grapes cost $80 a ton to grow; price cuts to farmers have not been reflected in lower prices to consumers of wine, spread, jelly or juice.

CHITTAPROSAD: ARTIST OF INDIA

By H. L. EVANS

(H. L. Evans is a student of Indian art who has represented several Indian artists in the United States.)

With the advent of British rule in the 18th Century the once flourishing art of India succumbed, with other forms of culture, to the dominance and influence of foreign elements that tended to deny the indigenous culture. At the beginning of the 20th century a nationalist movement developed in Bengal that led to a revivalist resurgence of India's art, based on traditional and folk forms of the past.

An outstanding artist of the revivalist school is Chittaprosad. Born in Bengal, he came from a family of petty middle class civil servants and merchants who wanted him to become a doctor—or a typist-clerk. In his biographical notes Chittaprosad writes, "To tell the truth, no one wanted me not to be an artist, but they wanted me to earn money, enough money . . . and they believed artists never fetch money . . . I left my people without taking anything from them except my sketch book and a pencil, and reached the city of Calcutta." Unable to gain admittance in the existing art schools, Chittaprosad learned his craft from travels through the villages of Bengal where the primitive folk artists and clay-image makers became the source of the "back to folk art" movement.

He soon left the well-worn path of the water color illustration to return to his native landscape and all the richness and variety of its scenes.

During World War II Chittaprosad rose to prominence as one of the outstanding artists of India. He developed the techniques of linocut and woodcuts—and went further to bring the impact of graphic arts to the fore in his brilliant posters and illustrations.

In November 1955, under the sponsorship of the Consul General of India in New York, original works of Chittaprosad were first seen in the United States at an exhibition in India House. The New York Times art critic wrote that his woodcuts "illustrate legend and the more picturesque aspects of daily life." The New York Post commented, "A rebirth of folk art in awakened India has brought out a realistic and sympathetic artist named Chittaprosad."

The artist in India finds it very difficult—more often impossible—to earn a living through his art. While the government has given due recognition to the importance and creativity of artists, it cannot as yet subsidize them even to the extent of doing art projects for government buildings.

Chittaprosad ekes out a meager income by doing book illustrations, commercial poster work, and occasionally selling original works. His devotion to India, and his feeling that he can best serve his newly freed country with creative work in art has earned for him the reputation as one of the leading contemporary artists of India.

Chittaprosad has drawn a set of holiday greeting cards especially for the Guardian. They are sold in sets of ten (2 each of 5 different designs) with envelopes. The following discounts apply only to Guardian readers.

One set	**(10 cards)**	**$2.00**
Two sets	**(20 cards)**	**$3.75**
Three sets	**(30 cards)**	**$5.00**
Five sets	**(50 cards)**	**$7.00**

Order now while the supply lasts!

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Enclosed $............ Please send me .... sets of Fine Art Holiday Cards.
(N.Y.C. buyers please add 3% sales tax.)

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Address ....

City .... Zone .... State ....

THE BACKGROUND AND THE REASONS

Poland: Why it happened

The following article, by a GUARDIAN correspondent who spent several months in Poland this year, sheds much new light on the background of the events of the last weeks in Poland and, by contrast, on the events in Hungary. The article was written before the Hungarian rebellion.

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

FOR CENTURIES Poles have sung a hymn to freedom which opens with these words: "Poland is not yet lost . . ." These words, sadly symbolic of the tragic history of this martyred people, were on the lips of the workers who, in the early hours of June 27, 1956, went to demonstrate in the streets of Poznan.

One assumes they were once again on the lips of the tens of thousands of students and workers who swarmed into the streets of Warsaw on Oct. 19 in support of Wladislaw Gomulka, new first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party. The October demonstration was caused by the announcement of the sudden—and uninvited—arrival of Nikita Khrushchev and his colleagues to forestall what they regarded as Poland's defection from the Soviet bloc. The visit was brief and the discussion, one gathers, acrimonious. But the Soviet Union agreed not to use force in bringing Poland back into line.

STIMULUS NOT IMPETUS: For those of us who followed events in Poland on the spot during the year, the new developments are no surprise. They are the inevitable outcome of a long process of democratization and rehabilitation in Poland. This process began long before the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP; the de-Stalinization, as then authorized by the Soviet Union, gave it a new stimulus rather than its original impetus.

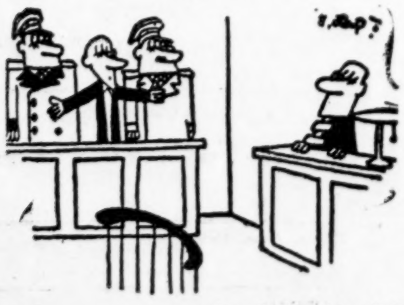
For some time past, and for some months before the events of Poznan, the Polish Workers' Party found itself in a position similar to that of the Yugoslav CP in the spring of 1948—when the Soviet-Yugoslav break was already an accomplished fact, but before the Cominform had officially pronounced itself.

The Polish press was banned in the summer of 1956 in Czechoslovakia and Rumania. The French Communist press was instructed not to reprint articles from the Polish press; journalists, representing the central organ of the Polish Workers Party, were unable to establish any contact with or obtain interviews from leading party officials when they covered the French CP Congress at Le Havre.

Polish journalists in Rumania on official invitation were more closely guarded than any Western correspondents. Wherever de-Stalinization had only been paid lip-service to—unaccompanied by any real change in the leadership of government or party—Poland was regarded as a black sheep to be treated with suspicion and distrust. In March, '56, Khrushchev, officially attending the funeral of the late Polish Premier Boleslaw Beirut, made a violent attack on the Central Committee of the Polish Workers Party.

THE POZNAN SPEECH: When democratization proceeded—despite raised eyebrows in Moscow—and when neither the Polish Party nor the Polish Government agreed with Moscow's version of the Poznan riots, the rift began to widen dangerously. Moscow's interpretation of the events in Poznan as a "plot by imperialist agents" provoked only bitter sarcasm—in Party circles and outside. Premier Cyrankiewicz quickly put the responsibility where it belonged and blamed desperate economic conditions rather than provocateurs for the tragedy of Poznan.

The most famous line of his courageous speech delivered the day after Poznan—that in Poland the workers have the right to go into the streets—was never quoted in the Communist press outside Poland. But the Poznan trials have since shown not only that the courts, the Government and the Party are all aware of the grave economic problems besetting Poland, but are also aware that public despair must be fought not with terror but with justice; that the nation's confidence can be regained only on the basis of truth—however painful—and the most profound changes in political and economic affairs.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"I confess, Comrade Judge, I listened to Radio Moscow."

WARSAW QUEUES AT DAWN
For early-bird editions on the crisis

BULGANIN'S SPEECH: Russia's answer to Poznan came in Premier Bulganin's speech in Warsaw July 21 at the celebrations of Poland's national holiday. In it he attacked the Polish press, accused the majority of Poland's papers of serving the camp of the enemy. Poland's reaction was violent and was not confined to the press, and Russian-Polish relations took another turn for the worse. Attacks on Poland in the Soviet press continued; as recently as a few weeks ago Bulganin charged Poland with having gone too far in the process of de-Stalinization. A high-ranking Polish Communist said to me in effect last summer:

"You can control 'Stalinization,' but how can you control 'de-Stalinization?' By starting the ball rolling with his famous speech at the secret session, Khrushchev started a snow-ball rolling which no one can stop. If he tries to stop it now, it will bury him in the process. The only ones who can 'control' this process are those who are genuinely concerned with granting the greatest possible amount of freedom within the framework of a socialist society. That is what we are trying to do, but we can only succeed if we can convince the people that this is our freedom and our socialism and not a slavish replica of a foreign model."

THE INTELLECTUALS: This is the crux of Poland's problem: freedom and socialism. But Poland's position differs from Tito's Yugoslavia in 1948. Yugoslavia was primarily interested in the concept of national independence, while Poland is basically concerned with the concept of individual freedom. Poland is a nation of rebels, where the students, writers and poets—today, as for centuries past—have always been in the forefront of the battle for freedom.

The Polish working class movement before the war could hardly count on a backward peasantry bound by feudal ties. It found its support in a small militant working class which numbered only 800,000, as against today's 6,000,000, but it sought its main allies among the intelligentsia. The Polish Communist Party—always the most independent of all Communist parties—was dissolved in 1938 by the Cominform. Hundreds of Polish Communists have suffered exile, prison and death in the Soviet Union; no Communist Party suffered more cruelly during the entire Stalin era. It is therefore not so surprising that People's Poland was less prone to indulge in the same excesses that took place in the other Eastern European countries—although the recent revelation that 19 officers were unjustly executed in 1952 caused infinite dismay and indignation among a people which had prided itself on having had no Rajks, no Kostovs and no Slanskys.

In view of Poland's history, and in view of the history of the Polish Communist Party (it was never reconstituted as such: the present United Workers Party is a fusion of Communists and Socialists), it is also not surprising that de-Stalinization should have proceeded at an accelerated rate. For it was the Party itself, or large sections of it, which motivated the whole vast process of democratization.

WHAT FORCE MEANS: It is no accident that the most vocal criticism should have been heard in the Party press and that the demand for greater freedom and improved economic conditions should have come from young intellectuals who are both ardent patriots and convinced Communists. There is no contradiction between Polish patriotism and Polish communism, but as long as Moscow fails to understand this, the rift will widen—to the deadly peril of Poland but to the equally grave peril of the working class movement the world over.

A show of force on the part of the Soviet Union might have halted Poland's march toward democracy; it certainly would have doomed her forever as a socialist partner. Forced to knuckle under, Poland would not only have been made to hate the Soviet Union, but would forever have associated socialism with tyranny and military occupation.

In 1948, Yugoslavia could be expelled from the Cominform—if not without impunity, then without open criticism from within the movement. In 1956, Poland can neither be declared beyond the pale nor militarily occupied without provoking a storm of protest not only in the West but within the Communist movement everywhere. Time has not stood still and Russia herself has set into motion such forces as will destroy the last vestiges of unity within the movement if she now attempts to reverse the wheels of history by force rather than by negotiation.

HITLER REMEMBERED: Only one thing will keep Poland within the Soviet orbit: Poland's own most vital interest. For, strategically speaking, Poland needs the Soviet Union as much as, if not more than, the Soviet Union needs Poland. I never met anyone, in all the months I spent in Poland—let alone a Polish Communist—who was not convinced of the burning need of a Russian alliance.

Poland remembers Hitler only too well to tamper with this basic tenet of her foreign policy. But within the framework of her Soviet alliance—as a partner, not a satellite—Poland demands the maximum freedom, a freedom without which this nation—for centuries ruled and occupied by foreigners—can no longer survive. Polish Communists know this, for they have shared the tragic experience of their nation.

As long as the Soviet Union fails to understand this, she will have neither friend nor partner in Poland, but at best an unwilling ally and at worst a subjugated, rebellious people. Granted the maximum freedom, however, Poland will continue to develop toward socialism and democracy, glad of the security which the Soviet alliance provides.

Poland's leaders are Communists, and the best of Poland's youth are Communists. But they are Polish Communists who carry in their hearts not only the memory of 1917, but also of 1794 and 1848.

EDWARD FITZGERALD GOES TO JAIL

An offer refused

Edward J. Fitzgerald, sentenced to six months imprisonment for contempt of court under the Compulsory Testimony Act of 1954, began serving his term Mon., Oct. 29. With time off for good behavior, he will be released at the end of March, next year.

Fitzgerald, a former government economist, is one of scores of persons named by Elizabeth Bentley as members of "spy rings," none of whom has ever been indicted or tried on her charges. Fitzgerald has consistently refused to answer questions about his political beliefs or associations. As he surrendered to begin his sentence, he made this statement:

"UP UNTIL THIS LAST minute the government has continued its efforts to get me to become their witness, hoping to bribe me with the promise that I could thus avoid imprisonment. I could, in other words, become a paid stool-pigeon. The pay—in this instance—would be not the coin they gave to Crouch, Mazzei, Bentley and other liars: it would be, instead, the physical freedom they are taking from me.

"My liberty is dear to me but I can live through a jail sentence. I could not live with myself as a captive informer forced to 'earn' my freedom by giving false testimony on government orders. I refused and will continue to refuse their offer.

"The attitude and actions of the government have confirmed my conviction that the Compulsory Testimony Law is an evil law. It is designed for the sole purpose of procuring false witnesses who will aid in the campaign to destroy freedom of expression and freedom of association.

"The fight to repeal this law must be continued and intensified. Meanwhile every effort must be made to insure that it will not be used against the countless others—government workers, teachers, librarians, scientists, actors, trade union members—whose freedom of belief the government would destroy."

Invasion of Egypt

(Continued from Page 1)

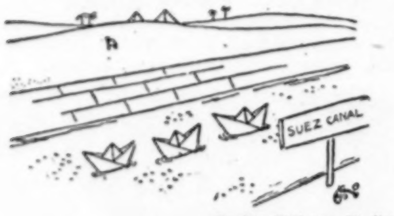
insisted that her call-up of reserves was purely defensive and pointed out that the President made no such strong protest when Iraqi troops were concentrated on the Jordan border.

Simultaneous with the invasion of Egypt, the Israeli Foreign Ministry issued a statement. It said that Egypt has continually harassed Israel with fedayeen (commando) raids; persistently declared that it was in a state of war with Israel, and has barred Israel-bound ships from passing through the Suez Canal, despite a contrary order from the UN. The Foreign Ministry stated: "Israel this evening took security measures to eliminate the Egyptian fedayeen bases in the Sinai peninsula."

The Israeli attack on Egypt gave rise to much speculation. Cairo was reported (N.Y. **Times**, 10/30) to be "taken completely by surprise." President Nasser had just returned from a vacation, Foreign Minister Fawzi was "relaxing at his country home" in the suburbs and Army chief Gen. Amer was out of the country coordinating the Jordan-Syria-Egypt command in the event of an Israeli attack on Jordan. Though worried by Israeli mobilization, Egypt had expected an attack on the Jordan border rather than in the Sinai peninsula.

BRITISH-FRENCH ROLE: It was uncertain whether the Israeli officials in the U. S. knew of Tel Aviv's plans. The N.Y. **Post** reported (10/29) that Ambassador Abba Eban had made a last minute alteration in a speech he delivered before the Greater Washington Jewish Natl. Fund. In the prepared text he said: "Israel will start no war . . . initiate no attack"; but in delivering the speech he said "The policy of Israel as stated 10 days ago by the government . . . is that Israel will start no war . . . initiate no attack."

Among diplomats in Washington "rumors were rife that Britain and France were taking a somewhat more tolerant attitude towards Israel's reported action than the U. S.;" a British diplomat was heard remarking that the Israeli attack was "not altogether surprising" (**Times,** 10/30). Marguerite Higgins reported (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 10/30) that Washington officials had "expressed fear that Britain and France may use the strife between Egypt and Israel as an excuse for their own military intervention in Egypt." She wrote that important U. S. officials suspected tacit Anglo-French approval of Israel's attack on Egypt which might topple Nasser from power.



Berlin Zeitung, Berlin
Canal Users Association

EDEN'S SITUATION: The **Christian Science Monitor** (10/17) reported that when British Prime Minister Eden tried to send Iraqi troops into Jordan—purportedly to maintain order during the Jordanian elections—he knew that Israel would consider this a warlike move. Nevertheless he went ahead because "a general flare-up in the Middle East over the Israel-Jordan-Iraq clash could perhaps come to [his] political aid" by justifying his unpopular and provocative concentration of troops in Cyprus and Malta. It was in fact reported (**Times,** 10/30) that the main units of the British Mediterranean Fleet had sailed from Malta the day before the Israeli attack, "as part of a continuing exercise" begun sometime ago.

Although the concentration of Iraqi troops on the Jordan border and the signing of the Jordan-Syria-Egypt military pact were given as the reason for Israeli mobilization, some observers pointed out that Israel invaded Egypt, not Jordan, camouflaging "[Israel's] intended military action with great skill and such complete secrecy that not even the Israeli Embassy in Washington suspected what was going on" (**Herald Tribune,** 10/30). This would seem to open the way for possible British intervention for, as Miss Higgins wrote, an attack on Jordan would have forced Britain to live up to the Anglo-Jordanian mutual security treaty; Britain would be absolved of that obligation if Jordan entered the war as an ally of Egypt.

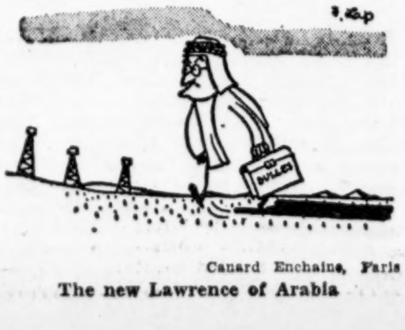
WHY INVASION NOW? In trying to answer the question "Why did Israel attack Egypt at this time?" Washington diplomatic sources seemed to feel that Israel considered the international situation "may never be so favorable again" (**Times,** 10/30).

- Britain and France still seem determined to overthrow Nasser and have been delaying resumption of Suez negotiations.
- Egypt has concentrated most of her forces in the Suez Canal-Nile Delta area in fear of an Anglo-French attack.
- Moscow is preoccupied with troubles in E. Europe.
- The U. S. is immersed in a Presidential election.

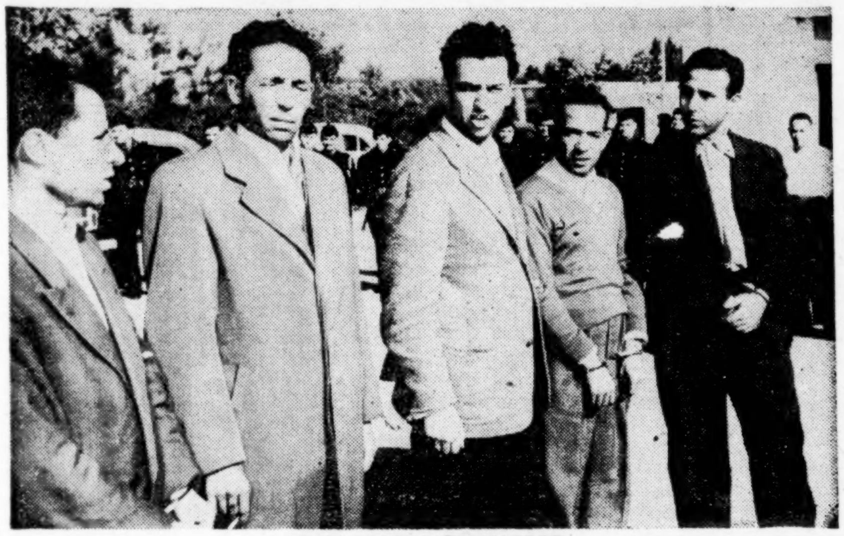
Under these circumstances, the **Times** said (10/30), the Israelis were presumed "to have calculated that Israeli troops would penetrate into Egypt against a minimum of resistance and with a minimum of unfavorable international repercussions."

THE 1950 PACT: At GUARDIAN press time, the situation remained uncertain. Secy. of State Dulles was said bluntly to have asked the British if they had any hand in the attack and received their indignant denial (**Herald Tribune,** 10/30). Washington was reported pledged to invoke both the 1950 tripartite pact (Britain-France-U.S.) guaranteeing the status quo in the Middle East and President Eisenhower's April 9 assurance of assistance "within constitutional means" to any victim of aggression in the Middle East. Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Walter George (D-Ga.) was said to be urging a special session of Congress.

Some reports placed Israeli forces only 25 miles from the Suez Canal. But Cairo announced that Israeli troops had been halted much closer to the armistice border and that Egyptian troops were gaining the upper hand. Washington, London and Paris were reported to have asked their nationals to leave the Middle East immediately.



Canard Enchainé, Paris
The new Lawrence of Arabia

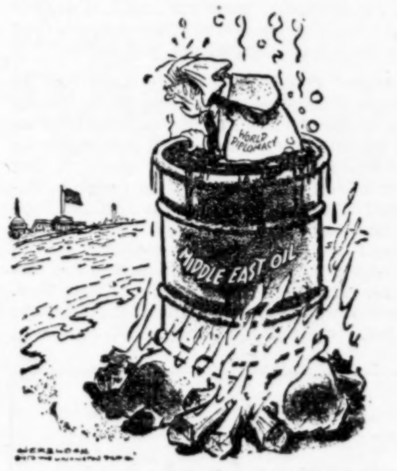


ARAB CHIEFS KIDNAPPED
The French tricked these Algerian rebel leaders: (L. to R.) Mustafa Lachareff, Mohammed Boudiaf, Hussein Ait-Ahmed, Mohammed Khider, Ahmed ben Bella.

North Africa

In addition to the Israeli-Egypt conflict, there was also trouble in North Africa where the French had seized five Algerian leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN) by an underhanded trick. The leaders were: Ahmed ben Bella, who had fought in the French army against the Nazis; Mohammed Khider, former Deputy in the French Assembly; Mustafa Lachareff; Mohammed Boudiaf; and Hussein Ait-Ahmed, who has frequently represented the Algerian liberation movement at the UN. The five Algerian leaders had been given political sanctuary in Cairo.

According to **Times** correspondent Robert C. Doty (10/25), French leaders two weeks ago told Moroccan Crown Prince Moulay Hassan that they would welcome "discreet" efforts by the Sultan of Morocco to persuade the Algerian leaders "of the desirability of a cease-fire." On that basis, ben Bella and his associates were invited by the Moroccan Sultan to Rabat.



Herblock in Washington Post
"What ever came of all that talk of atomic power?"

On Oct. 22 they chartered a Moroccan National Airlines plane, manned by a French crew, to fly to Tunis to continue their conference with the Moroccan Sultan and Tunisian Premier Bourguiba. Under radioed orders by the French command in Algeria, the pilot changed the plane's course—a smiling stewardess kept up a running chatter with the Algerian leaders to prevent them from observing the route change—and landed them in Algiers. As they were arrested by policemen with tommyguns, ben Bella said: "This is how you can trust the French!"

"PIRACY": The arrests precipitated violence against the French in Morocco, and general strikes and angry demonstrations against France, Britain and the U.S. in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya. More than sixty persons were reported killed in Morocco, most of them French. At an emergency meeting in New York, the 24-nation Asian-African group unanimously expressed shock over the "high-handed action" of the French government, asked UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold to try to secure the release of the Algerian leaders.

Calling the arrests "an act of piracy," Morocco's Sultan said that the Algerian leaders were his guests "with the unofficial approval of the French government," and that this was a worse blow to his honor than his exile by the French in 1953. Tunisian Premier Bourguiba handed a strong protest to the French Ambassador and recalled the Tunisian Ambassador to Paris; his Neo Destour party condemned the French action as a violation of international law and morality and called upon Tunisians to be ready for "any eventuality."

COLONIALS CHEER: Sultan Mohammed V returned to Morocco in an Italian plane, and his son flew in a Spanish plane; both avoided the French airport and landed in one of the U. S. airbases in Rabat. Observers pointed out that, since the French crew of a Moroccan plane obeyed instructions of the French government and violated their trust, Asians and Africans henceforth would be hesitant about engaging nationals of an imperialist country.

While Moroccan and Tunisian officials accused the French of tricking the Algerian leaders into exposing themselves to capture by "encouraging" the Moroccan Sultan to confer with them, the French colonials in N. Africa were jubilant. In the French Assembly in Paris, Premier Mollet shouted defiantly amid prolonged applause: "Whatever happens, France will remain in Algeria!"

The arrested Algerian leaders now face trial on treason charges in Paris.

It still shows

BONN, Germany, Oct. 4 (UP)—The West German parliament is considering a bill that would call for one year's imprisonment for persons wearing World War II medals with a Swastika. A Ministry of Interior spokesman said the bill permits wearing of decorations which have had the Swastika replaced by an oak leaf.

—Cincinnati **Enquirer,** Oct. 5

Hungary in UN

At the United Nations the Security Council was called by the U.S., Britain and France into emergency session on Oct. 28 to take up "Soviet intervention in Hungary." Soviet delegate Sobolev admitted the existence "in People's Hungary [of] unsolved problems bred by various factors and causes, as happens in most if not in all countries." He accused the U. S. of aiding "counter-revolutionary" elements in Hungary trying to take advantage of the existing difficulties. Sobolev also accused Britain and France of lodging this complaint with the Security Council in order to divert attention from Anglo-French oppression in Cyprus and Algeria.

Although the Council agreed to place the Hungarian issue on the agenda—over Soviet protest and Yugoslavia's abstention—it envisaged no action, since the Western Big Three had presented no resolution. In the immediate future the Council was expected to be preoccupied with events in the Middle East.

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SMITH ACT ABROAD

Puerto Rico trial tests status of Commonwealth

By Elmer Bendiner

AS THE U.S. prepared to try 11 leaders of the Puerto Rican Communist Party under the Smith Act, the political climate in San Juan took a sunnier turn last week. The Puerto Rican Supreme Court, in a 4-3 decision, reversed a lower court conviction of Deusdedit Marrero, a CP leader who was sentenced to 4-6 years imprisonment under a local sedition law after the 1950 rising of the Nationalists.

The judges postponed publication of their opinions but it was thought the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling invalidating Pennsylvania's sedition law in the Steve Nelson case was a factor.

At the same time Secretary of Justice Jose Tria Monge instructed mayors and other officials that the CP is fully legal and ought to be accorded use of city halls, schools and public squares for campaigning on the same terms as other political parties.

CONGRESS, NOT JAIL: Two of the defendants in the upcoming Smith Act trial are stumping the Island as CP candidates for office: Pablo Garcia Rodriguez for the Senate and Juan Saez Corales for the House of Representatives. Their campaign slogan, which attracts attention at street corner rallies, is: "Jail, no; Congress, yes."

Though demonstrating a certain liveliness, the tiny CP (50 members) could not in itself rally the Island. The issues of the trial transcend the Left, however. At stake is the status of Puerto Rican independence under the Commonwealth. The Smith Act indictment of the 11 charges a conspiracy to advocate the forcible overthrow of the government of the U.S. "in Puerto Rico and elsewhere." The defendants, in a motion to dismiss due to be argued on Nov. 2, will claim that there is no Government of the U.S. in Puerto Rico under terms of the Commonwealth and that therefore there can be no conspiracy to overthrow it.

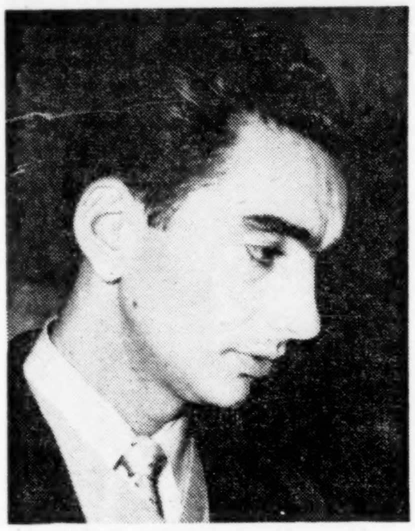
FIVE CENTURIES: The prosecution may get a cool public reaction if it insists there is such a government. (Its only alternative is to abandon that claim but maintain that the government in Washington feels a "clear and present danger" from 50 Communists out in the Caribbean.) The 11, on the other hand, defending not only civil liberties but independence, have already enlisted some top lawyers from conservative ranks on the Island and from New York, and may begin another chapter in Puerto Rico's battle for autonomy now in its fifth century.

Concessions to freedom have usually arrived in Puerto Rico too little and too late. Ponce de Leon set up the first settlement in 1508 and promptly allotted the Indians on the Island at so many to a settler. The theory was that the settler would provide his Indians with Christian teaching and protection (presumably against other settlers). In return, the Indian would gratefully work for him. So many of the Indians died of white men's diseases, overwork or in rebellion that when at last in 1547 Emperor Charles V ordered the Indians set free, few were alive to celebrate.

BLOOD AND TERROR: Negro slaves, imported from 1518 on, added their slave revolts to the fires that burned on the Island. For centuries the settlers pleaded with Madrid for small favors in autonomy, won them and lost them as the mood changed in the Empire. The Puerto Ricans, whites and black, mingling in marriage even while slavery still existed, fought off the British, French and Dutch until the 19th century. Then, stirred by the general colonial revolution sweeping the Americas, Puerto Ricans rose against the motherland in a series of weakly organized and bloodily suppressed revolts that lasted a century. The one that left its stamp on the Island occurred in 1868 when several hundred peasants seized the town hall at Lares and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico. The rebellion was quickly drowned in blood and terror.

But by 1897 the long and bloody battle had begun to pay off. In that year Spain granted a promising charter of autonomy that looked like the dawn of something hopeful. It was too late. One year later U.S. General Nelson A. Miles landed on the south coast announcing that the U.S. Army had arrived "to bring protection . . . to promote prosperity, and to bestow . . . the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government."

HARD TIMES: The whole fight had to begin all over again and, as in the Spanish days, Puerto Ricans were divided as to whether they wanted full independence or a local autonomy. Under the U.S. flag the Island promptly had its name anglicized into Porto Rico; its official language taught in the schools became English. Its land, once providing a varied produce, including a fine coffee for export, was turned into sugar and U.S. money was found for investment. Puerto Rico's elected officials could concern themselves with purely local matters that under no circumstances touched the U.S. or its interests.



PABLO GARCIA RODRIGUEZ
"Jail, no; Congress, yes"

Puerto Rico was occupied territory until 1900 and under the jurisdiction of the Dept. of the Army until 1934 when the Interior Dept. inherited it. When the U.S. entered World War I the Puerto Ricans, called on to join the colors, were admitted to U.S. citizenship.

Up to 1927 the Puerto Rican had little rights though he had more schools and hospitals (but still far from enough.) The depression came early to Puerto Rico, went deep and stayed late. The annual per capita income in 1932 was down to $86. The land, taken up by absentee owners, was turned to sugar but the Puerto Rican farmer roamed landless and hungry or clung to thatched huts in the slums of the cities.

UPS AND DOWNS: In 1938 Luis Munoz Marin, a poet who verged on radicalism in a Greenwich Village youth, was back on the Island organizing a break from the old parties that had become forums for lawyers and politicians. He made the fringed straw hat of the **jibaro** (the peasant) his symbol, wrote on his banner a classic revolutionary slogan: "Bread, land and liberty," promised to fight for independence and rallied the landless to his Popular Party. In 1940 the Popular Party gained a slim hold on the Island's Legislature. In 1941 President Roosevelt sent to the Island a new Governor, Rexford Guy Tugwell, who brought the New Deal fervor, full-blown and already carrying its pre-war sense of urgency and economic revival.

In 1944 the war boom and widespread economic reforms brought prosperity of a fashion to Puerto Rico. Still, half the country was jobless half the year. The economic New Deal of Munoz and Tugwell had nevertheless won support and the Popular Party thrived. As it prospered, its independence objective was diluted into a campaign for local autonomy and a better economic break. The fight for political independence was taken up by other movements.

THE COMMONWEALTH: In 1950 the U.S. Congress passed an enabling act authorizing the Puerto Ricans to write a Constitution which Congress might approve. In recommending that legislation, the House Sub-Committee on Public Lands assured Congress:

"The measure would not change Puerto Rico's fundamental political, social and economic relationship to the United States."

That act and the resultant Constitution led to the establishment of the Commonwealth which, until the Smith Act trial opens in San Juan, has never been clearly defined.

(What the Commonwealth is supposed to be, how it was formed, how it works as a substitute for independence, will be discussed in forthcoming GUARDIAN stories.)

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"FRAUD, TRICKERY AND TERROR"

Eastland asks free Polish election, gets request for same in Mississippi

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND (D-Miss.) last week proposed that the U.S. "lead and rally all genuinely freedom-loving nations to press for early elections in Poland" and that the United Nations, "at this juncture of [Poland's] struggle for freedom," do likewise. He promised to ask Senate colleagues and United States UN Ambassador Lodge to "institute an appropriate resolution."

The NAACP promptly wired the Senate's most powerful champion of white supremacy:

"We have noted your statement in the press and are happy to join you in urging 'free elections in Poland.' And in turn we call upon you to join us in urging free elections in Mississippi.

"We are convinced that you can do far more than urge free elections in your home state. You can use your influence as a U.S. Senator to open the polls to the half-million potential Negro voters who are now disfranchised in Mississippi by fraud, trickery and terror. We call upon you for prompt action to end this travesty of democracy. The need for action in Mississippi is even more urgent than in Poland."

PURGE OF VOTERS: Mississippi was named by Warren Olney III, Asst. Atty. Gen. heading the Criminal Division of the Justice Dept., as one of five Southern states which had purged Negroes from election rolls "by the thousands". The others were Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and N. Carolina. Olney, offering cooperation to pre-election inquiries congressional committees might undertake, called attention to Sec. 2 of the 14th Amendment. That section provides for a proportionate reduction of the basis of representation when the right to vote for Presidential electors is denied or "in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion". None of the committee chairmen answered Olney's letters.

THE GREENBACK PARTY
Edward K. Meador, 71, Vice Presidential candidate of the Greenback Party ("Banking for the people; not for the bankers") is shown (above) in Boston. Frederick C. Proehl is the candidate for President; he and Meador have never met. Among other things, the Greenbackers want the government to print its own money to meet operating costs and abolish the income tax.

NOT MUCH INTEREST

France views our election

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

WEEKS and days away from Nov. 6, the French find little news in their papers on the American elections. Most dailies have been satisfied to carry brief dispatches from their Washington correspondents.

It is striking how much more attention was paid here to the 1952 elections. While the Progressive Party candidate, Hallinan, remained largely unknown here at the time, Stevenson's language and the style of his campaign struck people's imagination to the point where some conjured up the cherished, unforgotten memory of Roosevelt. The election, many felt then, might make a decisive difference in world politics for years to come.

Today, speeches and platforms of the two candidates seem too much alike for people here to get excited over the election outcome.

DISAPPOINTING: Two of the issues in America today which the man-in-the-street follows with passionate interest are the Negro question and witch-hunting. On the first, the two candidates' views do not differ basically. The second seems to play no discernible part in the election campaign.

A third issue that touches opinion closely here is the question of atomic tests. But if Stevenson has come forward to promise to end all atom tests if he becomes President, the Washington correspondent of the weekly **Express** tells his readers that this "proof of courage," this "awareness of his world-wide responsibilities," will only consolidate the Democratic candidate's reputation as a "worried intellectual" and may therefore well cost him the election.

"Of the slogan 'Peace and Prosperity'," notes the special correspondent of **Le Monde**, "it is above all the second word that furnishes food for discussion. The internal problems clearly have priority over questions of international politics. This is the disappointing aspect of an election campaign from which the most important problems are excluded."

Hungary explodes

(Continued from Page 1)

patches from Budapest, a more coherent picture began to emerge.

On October 23 thousands of students and workers, shouting "Down with Gero" and "We want Nagy," marched through the streets of Budapest and gathered in front of the city's radio station. They sent a delegation which asked that their demands be broadcast. The political police arrested the delegation and the crowd tried to storm the station doors. The police opened fire, killing one demonstrator and wounding several.

Panicked by the wild rioting that followed, Gero called on the Soviet troops to restore order. The CP Central Committee recalled Nagy and installed him as Premier, but retained Gero as CP first secretary. By noon the next day, it seemed that the 10,000 Soviet troops, equipped with tanks, artillery and armored cars, had succeeded in quelling the riots.

POSSIBLE EXPLANATION: That afternoon several hundred students and workers gathered in Parliament Square to demand Gero's dismissal. There seemed to be no animosity between the demonstrators and the Soviet troops; Soviet tank crews were seen "fraternizing" with the students (**N.Y. Times**, 10/27). **Times** correspondent John MacCormac reported that crews of three Soviet tanks, shouting that "they did not want to fire on unarmed Hungarian workers," actually transported a score of the demonstrators atop their tanks from the Astoria Hotel to Parliament Square. MacCormac saw the "Soviet soldiers . . . laughing and waving to the crowd of hundreds that had collected."

According to MacCormac, the most credible explanation of what followed was this: A group of political police, drawn up at one end of the square, began shooting at the demonstrators. The Russians, "believing they were the target," opened fire. When the firing subsided, Parliament Square was littered with the dead and dying. As survivors spread the word, Budapest went into a frenzy; fighting was renewed as Hungarian soldiers turned over their arms to civilians; the revolt against the government spread throughout Western Hungary.

JANOS KADAR
To stop a stampede

THE DEMANDS: In rapid succession the Nagy government announced that Gero had been replaced by former Interior Minister Janos Kadar, imprisoned by Rakosi in 1949 as a "Titoist" and released only six months ago. On Oct. 25 Hungarian workers and students distributed a leaflet presenting their demands. Accusing the CP leaders and the government of being concerned "only with the prolongation of their power," the signers of the leaflet charged that the leadership was taking "only a few hesitating steps under the pressure of the masses."

The leaflet demanded "a provisional national government, including leaders of insurgent youth"; lifting of martial law; revoking of the Warsaw Pact (a socialist military alliance) and peaceful departure of Soviet troops from Hungary; political amnesty, release of prisoners and trial of "those responsible for the bloodbath"; "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis"; disarming of the political police.

The leaflet was signed "the new Provisional Revolutionary Hungarian Government and National Defense Committee." A puzzling aspect of the leaflet was a reference to Nagy and Kadar as "members of the Revolutionary Hungarian Government." Some observers believed that Nagy and Kadar were "attempting to exploit the prestige of the Army among the rebels [and] ostensibly were presenting an ultimatum to themselves" (**Times**, 10/27).

"YOU HAVE WON": The following day Premier Nagy announced the formation of a new Popular Front government including Zoltan Tildy, President of Hungary in 1947, and Bela Kovacs, anti-Communist leader of the big Smallholders Party which had been outlawed. After an emergency meeting of his new Cabinet, Nagy proposed a general amnesty for all insurgents; withdrawal of all Soviet troops as soon as a new Hungarian police force was organized; and early negotiations with Moscow for a new relationship based on complete equality and independence for Hungary.

"You have won," he told the insurgents over the Budapest radio. "We must realize that a huge democratic movement has developed which includes the whole Hungarian nation. Your demands will be fulfilled. Just stop the killing."

Although **UP** reported (10/29) that a Budapest radio broadcast announced the beginning of Soviet troop withdrawal from that city, news of continued sporadic fighting still came from Hungary.

NAGY AND GOMULKA: The Hungarian situation became more violent and uncontrollable than the situation in Poland for a number of reasons. Nagy is a pale copy of Wladislaw Gomulka, Polish United Workers Party first secy., and his reforms, as Gomulka pointed out last week, came too late. In Poland the political and economic reforms were undertaken even before Gomulka came to power, as Tabitha Petran pointed out in her reports on Poland (**GUARDIAN**, 10/8, 10/15).

Instead of anticipating the desires of the people, Nagy announced the newly formed Popular Front government's willingness to accede to the "desires of public opinion" only after a trade union delegation had demanded immediate measures to improve living conditions and had urged adoption "of the political changes effected in Poland under Gomulka" (**Times**, 10/27).

ROKOSSOVSKY LEAVES: Meanwhile, in Poland, where the government has warmly supported the cause of the Hungarian insurgents, there was further demonstration last week of the country's independent road to socialism. Defense Minister Marshal Rokossovsky, a Russian of Polish birth, returned to Moscow on an extended "leave," and it was predicted he would not return.

In a long article in the newspaper Zycie Warsawzy, Edmond Bora called for an independent Polish foreign policy based on Poland's own traditions rather than solely on the Warsaw-Moscow alliance. Denying that this might mean conflict with the Soviet Union, Bora said that similarity of interests and ideologies were a better guarantee of the "alliances among socialist countries" than imposed or imitative policies.

THE PORTENTS: Events in Poland and Hungary—and rumblings in Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania—seemed to be establishing a definite pattern. In both countries people have made demands that were based on revelations and principles first aired at the 20th Soviet Congress.

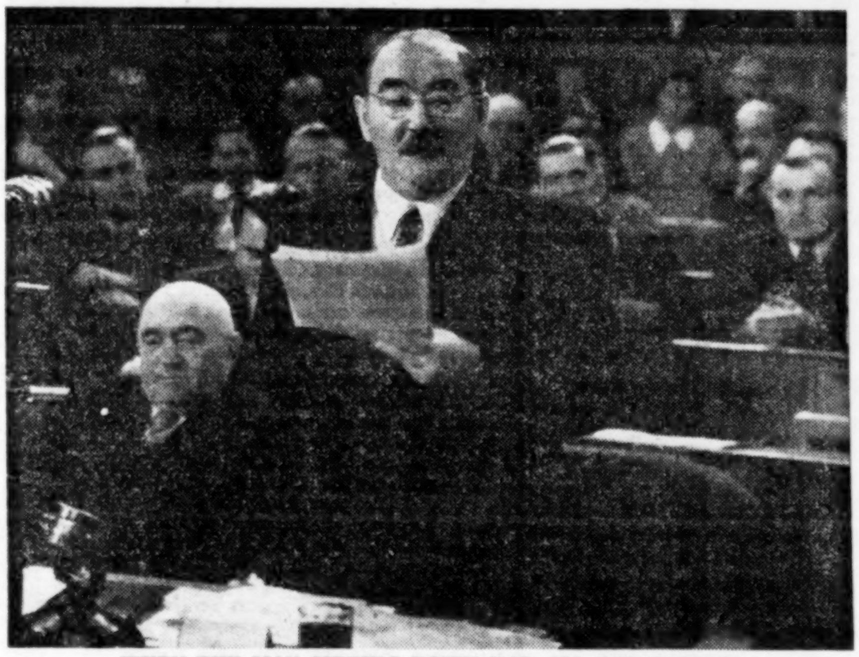
Poles and Hungarians have demanded abolition of political police and former trial methods; a greater share for workers in management and planning of industry; more incentive for and less coercion of farmers; greater intellectual freedom and wider contact with the West; increased freedom for the state apparatus from Communist Party control; more democracy in electing candidates for the government; a rise in living standards keeping pace with economic development; economic planning with more attention to the national needs, and withdrawal of foreign troops from their soil.

The last point has become an important issue because people under socialism, as people under capitalism, do not enjoy having foreign troops stationed among them. On the basis of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet troops have had a legal right to be stationed in the countries allied with Moscow. But the Warsaw Pact was signed as a measure of protection against NATO forces. The NATO has admittedly grown weaker and has been disintegrating; it no longer poses so powerful a threat to the security of the socialist countries. Hence the demand by Poles and Hungarians for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

A TRANSFORMATION: These popular demands do not presage a retreat from socialism. On the contrary, they are always coupled with the explanation that they are necessary to further socialist aims.

What seems to be gradually emerging is a transformation in the relationship between the Soviet Union and E. European socialist countries, modeled on Moscow's relationship with China and Yugoslavia—where the socialist revolutions were fought for and won by the people within the countries.

"Planets that once moved regularly and undeviatingly about the Soviet sun," William J. Jorden wrote (**Times**, 10/28), "now are seeking an orbit of their own, though they seem content, even determined, to remain within the Communist galaxy."



WHEN THE MAN SITTING DOWN HAD ALL THE POWER
Matyas Rakosi (l.) listens as Imre Nagy speaks. The time: 1954

NEW BRITISH PAMPHLET

A guide to political morality

LONDON

SINCE THE "REVELATIONS" at the 20th CPSU Congress, a controversy about moral standards has continued unresolved among Marxists here. The Communist writer Edward Thompson has called for an end to "the silly, mechanical view that morality has something to do with 'idealism'." The British CP leadership replies that a Marxist's moral yardstick is "the interests of the working people and the course of socialism" and that the horrors detailed by Khrushchev should be condemned merely because they were against those interests.

Into this controversy now wades the Rev. Stanley Evans, vicar of Holy Trinity parish in London's East End, with a pamphlet insisting that the horrors were much more than that: "They were also against the interests of civilization—they were offenses against humanity." Since the U.S.S.R. has "supported a theory of crimes against humanity" by approving the UN human rights declaration, "it is little less than tragic that today certain schools of socialism have to be reminded that there are standards of civilization which are basic to any possible economic system."

In **Russia Reviewed*** Evans, who strongly disapproves of all attempts on the Left to "discipline" discussion, has made a thoughtful contribution to the post-20th Congress debate. (Thompson and Hull University prof. John Saville face possible expulsion from the CP for publishing their own Marxist "journal of discussion," **The Reasoner.**) Evans writes as a Christian who, searching amid the "vast insanity" of the between-wars world for "any organized force that stood for righteousness," found in the U.S.S.R. something Christians must welcome—"an attempt to bring into being a genuine human community" without exploitation of man by man.

AND HE STRESSES that "it is not behind a sham facade of mock success, but behind a great wall of monumental achievement that certain things have been grievously wrong." He reminds us that "fascism would have conquered Europe" but for the U.S.S.R., which has made "overwhelming" contributions to world peace.

Today, "Christians who have given support to the U.S.S.R. have an obvious duty to make their position clear to their fellow Christians," and three lessons have to be learned. First, that all friends of the U.S.S.R. (including the author) must hold themselves to blame for their past uncritical attitude. Second, that "however admirable the economic and moral basis of a social system, there is no limit to the mistakes, follies and crimes which can be perpetrated within it." Third, that pro-Soviet foreigners could have helped prevent the injustices since "public criticism of a country abroad by its friends is as salutary a check as can be given"; and it is time for "a higher level of friendship that is not afraid to criticize or protest" when necessary.

Now when it is clearer than ever that "Russia wants peace and is prepared to pay her share in the price of securing it," this kind of friendship is "an elementary Christian duty and an elementary duty for any peace-loving citizen."

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

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* *RUSSIA REVIEWED, by Stanley G. Evans. "Religion & the People," Arlesey Vicarage, Bedfordshire, England: 11 pp., 9d. (obtainable from the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 15 cents post free).*

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State of Grace

NEW YORK, N.Y.

President Eisenhower invites Princess Grace Kelly and her prince to the White House for a talk. Evidently Ike prefers to settle world problems with the fantasies of Hollywood and the gambling domain of Monaco rather than face the realities presented by the millions of people of Russia and China.

Harry Fries

THE COMPETITION WAS WEIRD

Why you've never seen a Miss Poland

The following, taken from New Poland, *monthly journal of the British-Polish Friendship Society, is a sample of the biting humor that has been appearing in the Polish press in recent months.*

DEPARTMENT head Slupek of the Experimental Institute of Culture met his gehenna. It started with a summons to the director.

"Comrade Slupek," boomed a voice behind the desk, "the nation and the Press are demanding a Miss Poland. The working women of our people's country must be represented at the international beauty contest in Buenos Aires. You're to make the arrangements."

The alarmed Slupek tried to explain that he didn't know a thing about beauty contests, and anyway he'd got a wife way before the war. But the director was not to be moved.

"And don't you know anything about culture? And you've been working here for five years now. You'll start tomorrow. Only remember—collectively. There's a new stage now."

And the next day saw a new notice outside department head Slupek's door: "Chairman of the Commission Appointed to Elect Miss Poland." His secretary received instructions to send out invitations to offices and institutions covered in circular No. 296. These institutions were to select commission members.

The People's Councils received a circular about the candidates for Miss Poland 1956. They were to send the candidates to Warsaw together with biographies in triplicate.

And from that moment on poor Department Head Slupek had no peace. The three telephones on his desk never stopped ringing. It seemed that all his acquaintances, his friends, even his chiefs all had wives, secretaries or friends in every respect meeting the requirements of the contest.

DEPUTY MINISTER Z. told Slupek to his face that Buenos Aires was the only capital city not yet visited by his wife in the excursion trips organized by Orbis for the working man and woman, and that she had to fill that gap in her knowledge. One of the directors of the Press Enterprise informed the commission that Kazimiera Zgierska, the well-known (to the Press Enterprise) star journalist, was in any case going to South America as correspondent for three newspapers, four weeklies, the radio and television, and that she would therefore be able also to enter the beauty contest—currency saving.

Poor Slupek stopped eating and sleeping, but began to drink instead. The first time he bought himself a glass of vodka was when his wife threw him out of the house for refusing to exert his influence on the commission. To make matters worse, he found it difficult to make up the members of his commission.

The representative of the Women's League refused to take part, declaring that it was not possible to evaluate Polish women and mothers on the basis of such accidental elements as face, legs or bust, not taking into account their participation in socialist building. The delegate from Central Council of Trade Unions demanded that before the contest a check-up should be carried out to see whether each candidate had paid up dues.

The representative of the League of Soldiers' Friends considered that the basic criterion for judgment should be the candidates' active attitude to the People's Army. And to put the lid on it, the whole venture was attacked by the delegate from the Union of Progressive Catholics. He stated that the election of a Miss Poland would introduce a nasty erotic taste into the life of the country.

FRANCE
GERMANY
ITALY
TURKEY

MISS UNIVERSE CONTESTANTS
In Poland the rules were different

BUT GREAT DAYS are all alike, in that they arrive despite all things. The commission "to elect Miss Poland" sat down at their tables. In front of them sat the candidates selected by the Regional People's Councils.

To the surprise of all, there were only four. Some of the regions excused themselves by saying that due to the harvest season they had no time, while others simply ignored the whole circular sent out, no doubt considering it an intelligent practical joke which the recent thaw had brought in its wake.

At a sign from Slupek the candidates walked up to the commission members. True, the first one had three teeth missing, but she had the safest biography in the whole region, not one snag in it. The second candidate had the greatest experience of all the candidates, having entered a Miss Poland contest in 1926, but not winning it only because of the intrigues of the Chjeno-Piast Government. The third turned out to be the cultural delegate of the Regional People's Council and had selected herself for the contest.

At the sight of the fourth candidate, Slupek's faintly beating heart picked up again. She was young and pretty. She was elected collectively.

A MONTH LATER the commission's candidate was informed that she would not receive a foreign passport. In any case it was too late to enter the contest. The commission met and decided that since there was no question of a journey to Buenos Aires, and since the shortage of glass saucers was felt more acutely in the country than that of a Miss Poland, they agreed to cancel the whole event, especially since the Polish Press Agency hadn't yet informed the Press that the contest had taken place. And so we have no Miss Poland.

P.S.—The wife of Deputy Minister Z. left for Buenos Aires two days ago. As a wheat expert.

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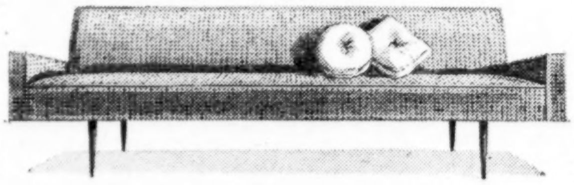

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CALENDAR

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TABITHA PETRAN reports on her trip to USSR for the Guardian, 32 W. Randolph, Hall C-1. Fri., Nov. 30, 8:15 p.m. Adm. 90c. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 Madison, Suite 403. AN 3-1877.

Detroit

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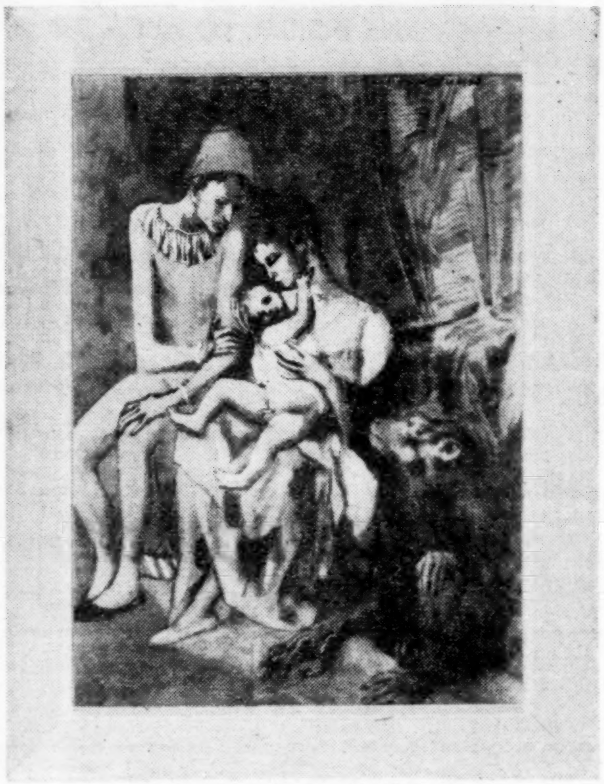

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has sniffles . . . BLOWS HER NOSE!

SHE BATHES
SHE DRINKS
SHE WETS
SHE WEEPS REAL TEARS

MORE PLAY... MORE FUN THAN EVER 5.98 WITH LAYETTE

Now . . . more realistic than ever! Betsy Wetsy was a sensational hit as America's favorite drinking and wetting doll. Now, with her *new* features, Betsy Wetsy is the nearest approach to a real live baby ever made.

- **SHE BLOWS HER NOSE**
- **SHE WEEPS REAL TEARS**
- **SHE DRINKS AND WETS**
- **SHE COOS AND GOES TO SLEEP**
- **SHE CAN BE BATHED AND POWDERED**

Betsy has a soft vinyl body with plastic head. Comes with complete layette . . . diapers, baby soap, baby's bottle. Bottle has removable nipple and can be filled with water.